RRR
ROTHBARD-ROCKWELL REPORT
MARCH 1991 VOLUME II, NUMBER 3

# WARTIME

**by Joseph Sobran**

All through the first year of George Bush's presidency I missed Ronald Reagan. At the end of the second year I miss Jimmy Carter. Bush's war on Iraq being insufficiently grandiose, he has given it resonance by placing it in the framework of his New World Order (or, as some of us prefer to call it, the Evil Empire). Combined with his proposed $1.5 trillion budget, it just about writes *finis* to any hope of a return to the limited federal republic created by the Founding Fathers. Bush wants global power, centered in the U.S. Government. He's vindicating all the charges of the Birchers and the New Left.

Most conservatives have gone along with this war, enthusiastically in some cases, cravenly in others, resignedly in still others. They don't mind big government, as long as it's shooting something; they utterly fail to notice that every war in our history has resulted in the consolidation and increase of federal power at home. If only they could see war as a federal program...

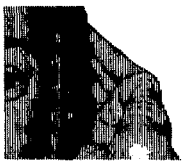
Some conservatives who were against the war before it began say they felt obliged to "support the president" or " support the troops" now that it's started. Often they add that they're "disturbed" by "the anti-Americanism of the peace movement." Well, you have to wonder what "anti-Americanism" means, since the peace movement itself is made up of Americans, and nobody proposes to drop bombs on America; only to stop dropping them on Iraq.

I guess they mean you're anti-American unless you support the most extreme imperial ambitions and moral self-delusions of American jingoism. Just after we'd killed 400 or so Iraqi civilians in a bombing raid on what our military men insisted was a bona fide military target, Marlin Fitzwater took the microphone to remind the world that "Saddam Hussein doesn't share our values on the sanctity of life." In those words smugness was raised to the level of psychosis. (When will those Iraqis understand that it was only *collateral* damage?)

The New World Order (or, as some of us prefer to call it, the Evil Empire)...

There is no telling how many civilians we're killing, since Saddam Hussein doesn't want to tell the full truth either, for his own reasons. But all our talk of "surgical strikes" and "precision bombing" was exposed as hollow when the first seven Marines to die were killed by their own air support. In war, there is no such thing as precision. As Paul Fussell makes clear in his fine book *Wartime*, war is always a gigantic snafu--like any other form of central planning, only with the extra complication of armed resistance. Think of war as the violent clash of two huge bureaucracies.

*(Cont. page 3, col. 1)*



# THE EAR

**by Sarah Barton**

Eric Rittberg, a young hunk who was Ron Paul's campaign assistant in the 1988 campaign, sent me a fan letter from Florida, filled with juicy news about the collapsed state of the Florida LP. The Florida party is billed by the national *LP News* as the "fifth largest state party," and if so, the national party is not long for this world. State chairman Charlie Manhart, a backwoods construction manager, was fired/laid off from his job, has taken his phone off the hook, and writes to no one; he has in essence Gone Underground.

Meanwhile, *Florida LP Newsletter* editor Jim Culberson, who does no work in the real world, fills his little newsletter with stories of his excessive partying, followed by aches and pains. Membership has, surprise!, plummeted, and attendance at the Florida LP convention fell from more than 150 in 1988 to less than 40 last year. While Manhart remains underground, Culberson talks of eliminating state conventions altogether and replacing them by a Sunday afternoon

*(Cont. next page,col. 1)*

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*(THE EAR cont. from P.1)*

barbecue. Meanwhile, it turns out that previous state chairwoman Paula Zimmer, former companion of national LP director Nick Dunbar, never hid the fact that she was a "Socialist Democrat."

Is it any wonder that the only candidacy that excites the few hippies, Modals, and "lifetime college students" remaining in the Florida LP is a possible race by Al Goldstein, left-libertine pornographer and editor of *Screw* magazine, for Sheriff of Broward County (Fort Lauderdale)?

Eric, I met Charlie Manhart a few years ago and I spotted him right away as a loudmouth, a blowhard, and a flake with a wild gleam in his eye reflecting some kind of abused substance (moonshine?). I disagree with you on one point on old Charlie. I *like* "rednecks"; it's *libertarian* rednecks I worry about.

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Ginnie "P.C." Postrel, the neocon New World Orderite who edits *Reason* magazine, calls in her March editorial for "a notion of rights, and of citizenship, that transcends mere geography." In the April issue, she turns *Reason*'s mildly pro-war stance into a ferocious one.

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In the February crash at Los Angeles Airport between a USAir jetliner and a commuter plane, one of the survivors was billionaire David Koch, the Bertie Wooster (minus Jeeves) of the libertarian movement, and younger brother of Charles.

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A few months ago, Richie Fink blocked Ed "Sexual Diversity" Crane's "Peace and Freedom Committee," which was to promote the agenda of the libertarian left. Then Ed was reprieved, it seemed. He hired groupies, rented offices, and printed up brochures (the name was now "Peace and Free Trade"). Then a grinning Richie phoned Ed and crushed PFT like a bug. He told associates he wanted to make sure Ed knows who's in charge.

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Daniel Seligman of *Fortune* magazine, in listing 1990's "ten most depressing happenings unless you're a lefty," says #9 is: "The remarkable statement by Edward Crane, president of the libertarian Cato Institute, which you might have assumed was in favor of free inquiry, that black-white differences should not be studied. (Asked by a *New York Times* reporter whether he thought such studies were becoming taboo, Crane replied: 'I think that sometimes taboos serve a legitimate function.')'

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Nick Dunbar, executive director of the "party of principle," makes 50 illicit copies of the *RRR* each month for Libertarian VIPs (if that's not a contradiction in terms). Nicky, a little man will be visiting you with a piece of paper.

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Investment superstar Robert Kephart writes: "I eagerly await the *RRR* every month so Sarah Barton can bring me up to date on the movement and its latest curiosities. I refuse to believe anything published elsewhere until confirmed by SB."

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A Washington journalist tells the Ear: "I can't believe that Saddam Hussein. First he bombs Israel. Then he attacks the environment. What's next? Martin Luther King jokes?"

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Richie Fink ordered the firing of Sheldon Richman, whom he has hated for years, by the Institute for Humane Studies. John Blundell, IHS president, called 13-year employee Sheldon into his office, read him a "termination statement," and commanded him to leave the building "forthwith." Libertarian giant Leonard Liggio, a close friend of Sheldon's, who himself had been kicked downstairs from president to "senior scholar," was kept in the dark. In the Kochtopus, they love firing people who don't expect it. "S-D" Eddie calls it one of the greatest pleasures in life. "What a rush!"

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Mike Holmes, former publisher of *The American Libertarian*, says the second R's successful fundraising letter for Howard Phillips' Taxpayers party — sent to 1988 LP presidential contributors—is "driving LP officials berserk." Lew wants to know: "How can you tell?"

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Another investment superstar, Daniel Rosenthal, tells Burt Blumert he went to dinner the other night with some famous left-libertarians, and all they did was whine about his endorsement of the *RRR*. "Yeah, Rothbard haters," said Burt. "No," said Danny, "it's Rockwell they can't stand." Lew calls this "a medal of honor."

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A Cato trustee says the Ear is "driving them all crazy. They hardly talk or think about anything else." Lew, that's a *real* medal of honor.

"After 13 years of maligning Murray, and eight years of lambasting Lew, they go bananas over a few pinpricks from a middle-aged lady," says Burt Blumert. Well, yes, Burt... but watch that middle-aged stuff!



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In the old days, the national director and staff of the Libertarian Party used to *do* things, like relate to the media or send out fund-raising letters. Now that the LP has become a racket, all those functions get contracted out, though the salary of the director has not been reduced. So now, the gang squabbles for slices of this juicy pie. "Juicy," that is, to Modals who scrounge in garbage cans, or the moral equivalent.

Perry Willis, LP Jonah, has been the contractor for direct-mail fund-raising for the national LP. He has been making what for him is a small fortune out of this deal. (Perry is a tall, good-looking guy whom women like to mother. But why doesn't someone tell him: "Get a job!")

But poor Perry; his boodle has just come to an end. For Perry is also the direct-mail fund raiser for the Marrou for President campaign. It seems that the national LP finally realized that maybe the Gulf War is an important issue, and they urged Perry to get a letter out. (No, don't worry, they're *against* the war; they'd catch holy Hell from their ideological boss, Bill Evers, if they weren't.) Perry kept stalling, saying the issue wasn't really important. (Sure.) And then it turns out, lo and behold!, that the Marrou campaign (i.e. Perry) has just sent out an anti-war mailing! Tut, tut, Perry!

Well, this was too much even for the LP, which promptly fired Perry. But don't worry, the contracting plum continues, now divided between former national employee MeMe King, and Kathleen Richman, who Ear reported has been nosing around for moolah from the LP for a couple of years. Hooray, Kathy, persistence pays! ●

***(Wartime...cont. from P.1)***

All the rhetoric of "precision" and "avoiding civilian casualties" is rationalization for our unwillingness to fight on the ground. As I write, in the early phases of the war, we are still "fighting" almost exclusively from the air, hitting the Iraqis at will without getting hit back. Jonathan Schell remarks on the "rough justice" of traditional warfare, in which the soldier has a sort of right to kill because he runs the risk of being killed himself. But now, says Schell, we are dropping death with godlike immunity, in our high-tech, remote-control assault on an overmatched little country. The debate over whether to launch the ground war revolves around our fear of reciprocity: the war has been popular so far because only Iraqis are dying. And the justification for this incredibly intense air war is the claim that only Iraqi *combatants* are dying. We insist that our high-tech mode of warfare is more humane to the Iraqis, when the real reason, I suspect, is that it's safer for us.

Bush's cowardice is evident in the way he talks about Saddam Hussein, as an evil dictator and a threat to the world, as opposed to the way he talks about really powerful foreign heads of state, such as the Soviet and Chinese

UNCONVENTIONAL WISDOM WATCH

## Gulf War Edition

With deep apologies to *Newsweek*'s Conventional Wisdom feature.

| PLAYERS | | *RRR* Wisdom |
|---|---|---|
| **Rep. Henry Gonzalez (D,Tex.)** | ↑ | For his House Resolution for the impeachment of George Bush as a "war criminal." Gonzalez in'92? |
| **CNN** | ↑ | Bless you for keeping Peter Arnett in Baghdad, and staying devoted to the old-fashioned value of getting the news. |
| **Pat Buchanan** | ↔ | What happened to our heroic leader in the fight against the war, pre-January 16? Come home, Pat. |
| **Joe Sobran** | ↑ | Wow, you've outradicalized *us*! |
| **Sen. Alan Simpson** | ↓ | The Don Rickles act is getting stale. What can top denouncing CNN and Arnett for treason? |
| **Jack Germond** | ↑ | Keeps cool, sardonic head. |
| **Wolf Blitzer** | ↓ | Change your name to Blitz Wolfer. |
| **George Bush** | ↓ | Down the bottomless pit. |
| **Alex Cockburn** | ↔ | Come on, Alex, make up your mind. |
| **Chris Hitchens** | ↑ | The *other* bright, sardonic leftish Brit. Go get 'em! |
| **James Webb** | ↑ | But please stop talking about the draft. |
| **Mr. Zbig** | ↑ | Up, we guess, but where have you been? |
| **Neocons** | ↓ | Yucck! |



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despots on whom he fawns. He's equally adept at playing the bully and the toady, depending on the power ratio of the moment.

Since he desperately needs Israeli cooperation, he's currently toadying up to Yitzhak Shamir, a circumstance the press describes as "improved U.S.-Israeli relations." If this war has proved anything, it's that the idea of Israel as a "strategic asset" was always a total crock: Israel has proved a tremendously expensive liability, and Bush has been in terror that the Israelis would jump into the fighting, queering his "fragile coalition" of *good* Arab despots. Israel has played on his fear by repeatedly threatening to retaliate in spades for Iraq's Scud hits on Tel Aviv, and demanding $13 billion in extra U.S. aid in return for what everyone sweatily calls its "amazing restraint."

Shamir has also exploited his window of opportunity by cracking down on Palestinians and welcoming into his cabinet the extreme party Moledet, which wants to run all Palestinians out of Israel and the territories. Even Israel's partisans are making little expressions of dismay, as if this were an anomaly—Shamir failing his better self, as it were. The fact is, as Sheldon Richman has noted, that the Israeli supreme court has already ruled it illegal for any party that advocates equal rights for Arabs to have a seat in the Knesset. "It is necessary to prevent a Jew or Arab who calls for equality of rights for Arabs from sitting in the Knesset or being elected to it," one justice wrote for the majority.

But to return to the practical problem. We're at war. Now what do we do?

I admit I don't have a practical answer, only an ideal one that I can't see our government implementing at any time soon. But here it is anyway, for what it's worth: We should surrender, and turn Bush over to Iraq to be tried for war crimes.

This would send a tremendous message to the world about American respect for human rights and the rule of law. But we should insist on firm guarantees that Bush would receive all the procedural protections he would enjoy under American law. I'd hate to see the man lynched.

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*Joseph Sobran, the remarkable paleo-libertarian journalist, is joining us as contributing editor. Each month, the syndicated columnist and* National Review *critic-at-large will contribute one of his extraordinary essays.* ●

## Sarah Barton, Triumphant

### by Joe Melton

Since Sarah Barton is much too modest to tell you the great news, it is up to her friends to do it for her: In less than one year, Sarah has become by far the most influential, the most widely read, the most powerful person in the entire libertarian movement!

*RRR* has received many phone calls complaining about Sarah's harsh, "negative," and "tasteless" column, but by the end of each conversation, the complainer invariably ends up: (1) admitting that Sarah is the first thing he reads in *RRR*; (2) agreeing that Sarah is right, and her column an eye-opener; (3) admitting he never heard of a "tasteful" gossip columnist; (4) supplying Sarah with juicy items about the people in the movement he can't stand; and (5) buying gift subscriptions and back copies of *RRR* for friends.

Every magazine's actual readers are a multiple of its official circulation; but if you take the copies of Sarah's column that are passed around and (illegally) xeroxed and FAXed, and add the enormous spread of rumors from her column (both true and distorted), Sarah's audience might well be up in the hundreds of thousands!

It is a fascinating sociological study that one lady's relentless guerrilla assault upon frauds, fools, sellouts, and bunco artists in the libertarian movement has had the power to move and shake powerful and wealthy institutions, and to make them quake and tremble. Is this reaction a high tribute to the power of the light of truth as against mighty edifices built by lies, image building, P.R., and the Money Power? One would like to think so.

Some examples of Sarah's power: at the recent convention of the Alabama LP, the general view was that LP presidential candidate Dick Boddie's chances were killed dead by Sarah's famed "mudburger" report (*RRR*, December, '90) about Dick's virtual endorsement of kiddie porn on an Arizona radio show. [My knowledge of the *RRR*'s power elite leads me to think that the "mud-burger" image was cleaned up for publication.] The telling point was that Sarah's item fit in with the attendees' basic view of Boddie, and so came as no enormous surprise.

The farflung Kochtopus constitutes some of Sarah's most avid readers, and they have reportedly been driven crazy by her revelations from deep inside its many-armed corporate body. The Kochtopus is now apparently on a frenzied molehunt.



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It is interesting to reflect on the curious fact that Sarah Barton is the only gossip columnist that the libertarian movement has ever had. Why is that? It is not from aversion to gossip *per se*, for the movement has long been a veritable sewer of word-of-mouth backstabbing, rumor, slander and defamation. Perhaps again, it is a profound fear of truth, of the power of facts being put into print, and an almost pathological aversion to "negative" information ever seeing the light of day.

Mike Holmes, editor of the suspended monthly *American Libertarian*, fought a long and gallant fight to expose the scams and crookeries in the libertarian movement. For his pains, his detailed and sober accounts received not gratitude but ferocious hostility, not simply from the bunco artists themselves (which was to be expected), but from the movement in general and even from the donors and suckers who were being fleeced. It is a pleasant irony of history that, by repudiating the efforts of Mike Holmes to cleanse the Augean stables of the libertarian movement, that movement has only managed to reap the whirlwind in...Sarah Barton. Enjoy!

**Sarah Barton is everywhere.**

The *RRR* editors tell me that they have been besieged with pleas for information about its Wonder Woman: her picture, how old she is, where she lives, where her kids (if any) go to school, and of course, who her sources are. *RRR* has authorized release of the following:

"Sarah Barton is everywhere, under every bed, in every closet and boardroom, wherever in the libertarian movement there is a thirst for truth and justice, and a willingness to help make war upon their enemies. The 'front' in Sarah's war is everywhere, and she pays no attention to the Geneva Convention: she takes no prisoners."

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*Joe Melton is a long-time, and therefore jaundiced, observer of the libertarian movement.* ●

# Notes on the Nintendo War

**by Murray N. Rothbard**

## The TV War

For the first two days and nights of the war, I, like many other people, stayed glued to my TV set, watching the war, concentrating on CNN but flipping in and out of the networks. Then, suddenly, it hit me: I wasn't getting any *news*. And it remains true. What we have been getting is:

1. Endless repetitions of the same few static shots: A plane landing or taking off on a darkened field. A missile thrusting upwards. The same damn bird covered with oil. (How many hundreds of times did we see *that* one? And that was a fake—a shot taken after some oil accident several days *before* Saddam's oil strike.) If you turn on five minutes of news per day, you get the full 24 hours.

2. Slides of maps, with radio voices crackling from Middle East spots. No news.

3. Press conferences, with Bush, Cheney, and various Pentagon biggies sounding off with braggadocio: We've got him; we've crushed him; we'll crush him again.

4. Press conferences where Bush and Pentagon biggies engage in schoolyard tantrums. After five months of routinely calling Saddam a monster, a madman, and a Hitler, every time Saddam does something, *e.g.*, putting our pilot POWs on television, or unloosing all that oil, our biggies invariably say: "That's it. Now we're *really* mad." But why is this fatheaded behavior taken seriously?

5. The rest of the airtime is filled with the talking heads of seemingly every retired colonel and general on the armed forces pension rolls. All these mavens invariably say one thing: We've got him; we've crushed him; we'll crush him again.

Several astute critics, notably Leslie Gelb in the *New York Times* and Howard Rosenberg in the *L.A. Times* have pointed out that this first "television war" is not in any sense bringing us *the war*, but only a highly censored, sanitized high-tech computer Nintendo game, with U.S. missiles going off, gallant Patriot (whichever PR man thought up *that* name should be getting a million bucks a year) missiles intercepting evil Scud (ditto for *that* PR man) missiles. It's a TV-high-tech phony war that the average Americano can really get behind, sending the Bush approval rating up to—what is it?—110%?

## Civilian Casualties?

And yet, every once in a great while, some bit of truth manages to peek through the facade: Iraqi refugees in Jordan note that blood is



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running in the streets in residential neighborhoods in Baghdad; and Ramsey Clark reports that in the major Southern Iraqi city of Basra civilians are being targeted and killed in great numbers. Concerned that more of these reports might shake the "Nobody Dies" theme, the Pentagon has issued a preemptive strike against such revelations by assuring us that we never, ever, target civilians, that our pilots have gone out of their way and even sacrificed themselves to avoid hitting civilians, but that sometimes—even with "smart" precision bombs—there is unavoidable "collateral damage" (sort of like "side effects" in medicine?) to civilians, and anyway it's all that evil Saddam Hussein's fault for putting military targets near civilian areas. Oh. Like at Hiroshima and Nagasaki, right?

Even when a smart bomb killed 400 civilians, it was all Saddam's fault.

## What Happened to the Mavens?

Another curious aspect of the war is: what in blazes happened to the mavens, to all those military and strategic experts upon whom we all rely for sober judgment on world affairs? Before January 16, most of the mavens sounded pretty good: they warned sternly that launching a war would be decidedly inadvisable, and that a ground war would be even worse. Then, Bush blows the whistle on the Night of January 16, and the mavens totally flipflop. From then on, it's: Hey, hey, high-tech! Missiles! B-52s! Pounding! No living person can stand up to it! We'll win the war in ten days, two weeks at the outside!

There were two parts to this total switcheroo of the mavens. Partly it was the very same mavens changing their tune within a few hours. But partly, too, many of the old mavens were dumped and new ones—the B team—substituted. Suddenly, the sober and thoughtful Brzezinskis and Admiral LeRocques and Carrolls were gone, and the second team of mindless retired colonels are trundled in to whoop it up for imminent victory. Is this a coincidence?

**Blood is running in the streets in residential neighborhoods in Baghdad.**

Also, what happened to that fascinating pre-war session on *Crossfire* when former Secretary of the Navy James Webb and the military expert from the Chicago *Tribune*, slated to debate the possibility of a draft, stunned both Pat Buchanan and Michael Kinsley by agreeing that the U.S. Army and Air Force were not equipped to fight a Gulf war for longer than four weeks. After gaining a brief news flash, this item was dropped and never referred to again. What do these two say *now*? Inquiring minds would like to know.

## Grinding It Out

It occurs to me that U.S. military strategy, ever since U.S. Grant, has been dogged, plonky, and unimaginative. Mencken once wrote that the Americano loves to boast about U.S. military victories, but that we make sure, before launching any war, that we outnumber the enemy by at least five to one. And then, in every war, we amass the men and firepower, and just slog it out, wearing the enemy down—something like the hated New York Giants in football. With a few exceptions such as General Patton, brilliant surprises and strategy are left to the opposition.

In this war, so far all the surprises again have come from Saddam, who despite being vastly out-numbered—in fire-power, but *not* in men on the ground—is constantly keeping the U.S. Behemoth nervous, puzzled on edge. "*Why* is he laying back?" or "Why didn't he fire all his Scud Missiles or fly all of his planes at once? (so we can spot them)." "*Why* did he unloose all that oil? MiGod he's worse than Exxon!" (Maybe because we insisted on embargoing it. What *else* should he do with it than confuse us, slow us down, maybe even wipe out the desalinization plants in Saudi Arabia? Saddam's brain, after all, has not been addled by the Environmentalist Movement.)

But we have an all-too-effective PR reply to any surprises that Saddam can pull. The endless litany: "We're right on schedule. Everything's on schedule."

## Dramatic Non-Events of the War

1. **Gas Attacks.** With all the fuss and feathers about gas masks, issuing of gas masks, practicing in sealed rooms, constant agitation in Israel and in Saudi Arabia, *not one* gas attack has yet occurred. How about waiting until something happens before featuring it everywhere? Or is that asking too



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much of our Nintendo war?

2. **"Terrorism."** (assaults upon Western or Israeli civilians, that is, *not* against Iraqi civilians.) The great Old Right journalist Garet Garrett analyzed U.S. imperialism in the 1950s as a "complex of fear and vaunting." His analysis has been unfortunately confirmed in spades. On the one hand, endless bragging and blustering: Hey, hey, USA! We've got him, we'll crush him, we'll kick his ass! On the other hand, craven cowardice, endless whimpering about prospective "terrorism." Travel has plummeted, security measures have tightened everywhere. My God: if *you* were an Iraqi terrorist, with after all strictly limited resources, would *you* plan your first strike thus: "OK, let's get the Shubert Theatre in New York!" And all the nonsense about the Super Bowl! Hey people, do you think anyone outside of the U.S. gives a tinker's dam about football? They have more pressing things to think about or to target.

**Not one gas attack occurred.**

And in all the hot air and prattling about "Iraqi terrorism," there has not yet been *one* terrorist incident! ("Watch out! He's *holding back*!") In fact, the only authentic incident so far—the shelling of Number Ten Downing Street—was committed, not by the evil Arabs, but by the good old Irish Republican Army, who antedate Saddam by about seventy years. Again: how about waiting until one certified incident occurs before spreading this alleged problem all over the front pages?

Besides, do you realize that they *never caught* those once-famous "bearded Libyan hit men," who supposedly snuck onto our shores to get President Reagan? Where are they now?

## And Whatever Happened to the "Drug War?"

Answer: Who needs more than one war at a time?

## One Small Plea

Please, please, won't someone, somewhere, do something, to get that ubiquitous man with the improbable name of "Wolf Blitzer" off the air? I know that it's a small thing to ask amidst the grand follies and tragedies of this war, but it would be so...blissful.

## Red-Baiting the Anti-War Movement

The conservative movement (apart from the paleos) reminds me of a punch-drunk boxer who has been in the ring several fights too many. When he hears the bell, all he can do is to look around wildly, swing aimlessly, and red-bait. *Human Events* recently tried to do this by pointing out darkly, and correctly, that Ramsey Clark's anti-war Coalition is dominated by the Workers' World Party, a Marxist-Leninist group. It darkly pointed out that the Coalition failed to condemn the invasion of Kuwait. It then tried to draw an analogy to the Marxist-Leninists who opposed the Vietnam War, hoping to bring about a Marxist-Leninist Asia, and eventually a Marxist-Leninist world.

Very feeble, guys. It's true that the Workers' World Party (WWP) which originated long ago during the beginnings of the Soviet-Chinese Communist split, are demon organizers and run the Clark Coalition. But so what? The WWP, a pro-Maoist splinter from Trotskyism, has about fifty members, and is a threat to no one. Its Maximum Leader, theoretician, and organizer is one Sam Marcy, and its crackerjack organizer and editor is Dierdre Griswold. They never had any clout within Trotskyism or Leninism, much less in America as a whole. Their effectiveness comes from the fact that they early decided to abandon abstruse theoretical argument and concentrate on practical organizing and street demonstrations against any and all U.S. wars. But to see the imbecility of the analogy with Vietnam, ponder this: no one, but no one, not even Comrades Marcy or Griswold, is writing letters to each other signed "Yours for a Baathist America." No one wants to model the U.S. or the world after Saddam's polity. Get it?

Furthermore, a careful analysis of the Left's reaction to this war cuts totally against this standard conservative reflex. As a matter of fact, one can almost use the position on the war to figure out *who* on the Left has been in the Communist Party orbit all along, and who has been truly independent. Many prominent leftists have spouted what could only be called the Gorby-Soviet line, i.e., that Saddam must be stopped, that it's wonderful to have the U.N. back again battling for a New World Order, that there should have been sanctions against Iraq; but that Bush is being too jingoistic and going too far in the war. Take, for example, Alexander Cockburn, the last of the



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unreconstructed Old Left, whose writings on politics and U.S. foreign policy before August 2, 1990, were radical, punchy, and delightfully satiric and hard core. But since August 2, Cockburn has suddenly turned Judicious, writing stodgy and tedious articles in the *Nation*, denouncing the "extreme Left" for attacking Mr. Bush's War and U.S. imperialism and for overlooking the vast complexities of the new era. In fact, one of the many causalities of the Gulf War has been Cockburn's once fascinating writing.

So what does that tell you where Marxists-Leninists stand? In contrast, it should now be clear, if it ever was murky, that such staunch anti-war Leftists as Erwin Knoll, editor of the *Progressive*, or Ramsey Clark, should never have been red-baited, and are truly independent persons.

### The Yellow Ribbon Conspiracy?

Surely, one of the main beneficiaries of the war so far has been the yellow ribbon industry. Has any intrepid journalist looked into this question: who are the major yellow-ribbon manufacturers? Do they have any ties with the Trilateralists? the Bilderbergers? With Neil Bush or any of the other little Bushes? And how did this yellow stuff start anyway?

Color scientists: is there any color, on the color spectrum, that may be considered *anti*-yellow?

### The Right to a Speedy Trial

And when, Oh when, is General Manuel Noriega (remember him? He was *last year's* "Hitler") going to get his constitutional right to a public, speedy trial?

### The War Hero as Permanent Problem

Among the baleful consequences of nearly every American military victory has been the War Hero who emerges from the war and then plagues us for years as President. The American Revolution brought us High Federalism and George Washington, the Mexican War gave us President General Zachary Taylor, the Civil War the rotten regime of President U.S. Grant, and World War II brought us Ike Eisenhower, who fastened the New-Fair Deal upon the nation at a time when there was a good chance of getting rid of it. (World War I gave us no *military* heroes, but it did elevate Herbert Hoover to political fame and eventually his disastrous presidency. Hoover was the aptly-named Food Czar during the collectivized economy of World War I.)

If the U.S. wins a short, casualty-free Glorious Victory in this war (or if just as effectively the Washington spin-doctors are able to persuade the dazzled media and the deluded masses that this Glorious Victory occurred), then *who* will be the War Heroes emerging from this war to torment us in the years to come?

George Bush, thank God, is too old, unless of course, the neocon political theorists manage to get rid of the anti-Third Term Amendment and he can be elected President for Life. General Kelly has too raspy a voice (being short in the intellect department is no longer a bar to the Highest Office). General Schwarzkopf is too fat and thug-gish looking. Brent Scowcroft is too old, and besides, he lacks charisma. We are left with: Dick Cheney, who I am sure is willing to shoulder the burden, and General Colin Powell, who could be our first Affirmative Action President, an event that would send the entire Cultural Left, from left-liberals to neocons to left-libertarians, into ecstasy. What, you ask, are his *views* on anything? Surely you jest; no one ever asked that question of any of the other War Heroes. We know that he wears his uniform smartly and comes across well on television; what *else* would anyone want?

### A Nightmare Scenario for 1996

In case no one is worried about more proximate problems, here's a lulu for 1996: who should become George Bush's heir apparent, to run all of our lives from January 1997 to January 2005: Dan Quayle or General Colin Powell? Sorry: None of the Above is not a permitted option in our Glorious Democracy. ●

## Bruno Bettelheim; Plagiarist, Sadist, Child Abuser

### By the Old Curmudgeon

After decades of developing an enviable reputation for sheer cussedness, I went and blew it. In the August 1990 *RRR*, I mellowed for once and referred warmly to the late suicide shrink Dr. Bruno Bettelheim as "a man of substance," and lamented his treatment at the hands of daughters and friends. That's what I get for being "positive"



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for a change. For never let it be said that we at *RRR* are too petty to admit mistakes. Once in a blue moon, we're wrong. For since his death, the floods have arrived, and Bettelheim Revisionism has arisen to make a powerful and unchallengeable case.

For it turns out that eminent shrink Bettelheim was a vicious sadist and child abuser; many of his abused former patients have testified to that fact ever since his death has released them from a life of fear.

And now comes the final nail in his coffin: folklore expert Alan Dundes, a long-time anthropologist at Berkeley, has demonstrated that the very book I had praised—his splendid defense of fairy-stories against the hordes of Left Puritanism—was a work of wholesale plagiarism of Stanford psychiatrist Julius Heuscher's book, *A Psychiatric Study of Fairy Tales.* [Anne C. Roark, "Bettelheim Plagiarized Book Ideas, Scholar Says," *Los Angeles Times.*] Professor Dundes concludes that if an undergraduate "were to turn in a research paper with this sort of borrowing without any attribution," it would certainly be considered as plagiarism.

Fodder for shrink analysis is some of the curious reactions to this revelation. As in the case of Martin Luther King, the guy being plagiarized was not only not troubled, but seemed to be honored that a great man like Bettelheim would bother to plagiarize him. Not at all curious but nevertheless odious was the response of Bettelheim's longtime literary agent, Theron Raines.

Belligerently, Raines wanted to know why this article is written now, after Bettelheim is dead and he is no position to answer the charges against him.

OK., Theron, if you really want to know, I'll tell you. Because if the S.O.B. couldn't be brought to justice when he was alive, perhaps he can at least be judged at the bar of history. I know it would have been far more satisfying to drag Bettelheim to the dock in person, but Theron, we can only do the best we can. — **M.N.R.**

# Scrambling For Funds

## by Paul Gottfried

While Bertolt Brecht was right to observe that food is needed to philosophize, in the case of American movement conservatism financial grants have replaced ordinary food. In *Time* magazine (December 3, 1990), a detailed report is given about the comings and goings of Vile Body, a group of self-identified cultural conservatives who meet to exchange ideas in New York. This group, which includes, among others, Roger Kimball, Richard Brookhiser, Bruce Bawer, and (depending on his schedule) John Podhoretz, has published with Poseidon Press an anthology of their thoughts, which condemns the "adversary" culture[1]. What *Time* does not indicate is that all fourteen participants represent magazines and other interests receiving steady, vital subsidies from one or more of four neoconservative foundations. *The New Criterion*, for which most of the contributors write and which employs several of the contributors, drew a subsidy of $125,000 from the Sarah Scaife Foundation in 1989 and has received annual grants of $100,000 from the John M. Olin Foundation and at least $50,000 from the Bradley Foundation since the mid-eighties[2]. Two other publications with Vile Body contributors, *National Review* and *American Spectator*, are likewise the recipients of regular subsidies from neoconservative foundations. *American Spectator*, a monotonously faithful, neo-conservative magazine, is perhaps the one most often in straitened circumstances, after *The New Criterion*. Bradley and J.M. Olin provide it jointly with about $450,000 per annum, while Bradley made a special grant of $50,000 to the *American Spectator*'s editor in 1986 to help relocate offices in Arlington, Virginia[3].

**The perversion of conservative foundations.**

Without the administrative staffs of Bradley, Olin, Smith-Richardson, and Sarah Scaife, there would be no operative agenda of "cultural conservatism" being implemented in New York and Washington. Cultural conservatives—that is, critics of modern society, there would undoubtedly be, but not organized activity for positions that foundation heads decide to call "culturally conservative"—e.g., defending Jackson Pollock's modern art against Robert Mapplethorpe's or Martin Luther King's oratory against Jesse Jackson's.

The shaping of cultural conservatism is now bringing economic



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benefits to political activists who have discovered a market for "values." The head of the Free Congress Foundation Paul Weyrich, for example, receives hundreds of thousands of dollars yearly from the Bradley and Olin Foundations.

In return, Weyrich ceases to be a mere congressional lobbyist and becomes instead a spokesman for "Judeo-Christian values[4]." In this role, he calls for governmental programs to promote "cultural conservatism" across the country. An even greater amount of annual funding from Bradley, Olin, and Smith-Richardson goes to the Institute for Educational Affairs. Under the institute's recently departed head, Leslie Lenkowsky, its staff worked to further "democratic values," seen as the neoconservative foreign policy of aiding both the A.F.L.-C.I.O and Reagan State Department in their drive for global democracy[5]. In late 1988 Bradley conferred $475,000 on the James Madison Center, which was subsequently incorporated into I.E.A.[6]. The center was organized as a forum for William Bennett, who, together with Jack Kemp, has emerged as one of the two preferred presidential candidates of the neoconservatives. Bennett's decision to become drug czar made it no longer necessary to furnish him with a thinktank of likeminded constitutional and educational theorists. (Now he is an Olin-funded fellow of the neoconservative Hudson Institute, which Lenkowsky heads.)

**"Cultural conservatives" champion Pollock vs. Mapplethorpe.**

Conservative cultural rhetoric is intended to keep afloat both political candidacies and Washington lobbies, but neoconservative philanthropy does not exist entirely for that end. There is a definite worldview that neoconservative-controlled foundations subsidize, and it may be inferred from both neoconservative editorials against the Old Right and from recently published essays on conservative wars.

Neoconservatives, who have defined the conservative movement in the New York-Washington corridor since the early 1980s, stand generally for open immigration, the civil rights cause before it turned against Israel and in the direction of quotas, the welfare state without Jimmy Carter's additions to it, "democratic values" in public and private schools, and "American democracy" throughout the world[7]. Its view of recent American social reform is that of a train that became derailed at the time its neoconservative passengers elected to get off. Those on their right are dismissed as fascists and anti-Semites for failing to board the same train; those too far on the left are belabored with the same terms of contempt for staying on too long. Only those who remained on the train of Progress for the proper time span and left with the right people are entitled to the redemptive label "democrat."

Behind these attitudes sociocultural and philosophical factors are equally detectable, and it may be debated ad infinitum which is the most critical one for the neoconservative worldview, the Eastern European Jewish-New York backgrounds of most of its representatives, their Wilsonian-Rooseveltian vision of America, or their connection to the anti-Stalinist Left, which lives on in the appeals to global democratic revolution. The piecemeal takeover of the American Right by neoconservatives through foundations, in any case, entails more than the quest for power emphasized by their critics. Unlike most of the mob of "conservative" job-seekers in Washington during the Reagan years, the neoconservatives do stand for something. And the ruthless wars they have fought against competitors on the Right—whether discrediting the front-runner for the N.E.H. directorship, M.E. Bradford, or more recently, trying to defund and destroy the heretical Rockford Institute— has reflected conviction as much as the passion for power.

It may be argued that neoconservatives have seized foundations to influence culture because they believe seriously (as they assert) that politics is culturally derived[8]. And so they have produced official positions on educational, religious, and aesthetic questions and have hired advocates to publicize their stands. Michael Novak's *Crisis* and Richard John Newhaus' *First Things* have been created to provide the Christian or Judeo-Christian counterparts of *Commentary*. Both magazines are lavishly funded by Olin and Scaife. Olin and Bradley also earmarked $200,000 to *This World* while Neuhaus, then an employee of the Rockford Institute, had used that



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periodical to proclaim the gospel of democratic capitalism. Funds from the same sources have gone to support the one-note Institute on Religion and Democracy, while Scaife in 1989 bestowed $100,000 on Neuhaus' Institute on Religion and Public Life in New York, together with $125,000 on the Ethics and Public Policy Center led by George Weigel in Washington[9]. All these groups show differences without distinctions, having interlocking boards, and pushing the same point of view, that Judeo-Christian morality requires democracy and democratic capitalism.

**The pervasive vision of a democratic state with a mixed economy and unlimited immigration.**

The heavy concentration of funding from neoconservative philanthropies on the same activities and programs has two explanations. One is the attempt by neoconservatives to rivet public attention, particularly in downtown Washington, on salient ideological positions. Thus it is possible, while walking on Connecticut Avenue in Northwest Washington, to encounter a phantasmagoria of neoconservative magazines and advertisements for lectures, all having titles with the word "democracy" or "democratic." The four sister philanthropic foundations have funded, singly or jointly, all the following advocates of world democracy: Institute on Religion and Democracy, Institute for Democracy in Eastern Europe, Bradley Institute of Democracy and Public Values, Institute for Liberty and Democracy, the partly public National Endowment for Democracy, The Friends of the Democratic Center in the Americas, Gregory Fossedal's tribute to global democracy, *The Democratic Imperative*, a center for "democratic" journalism at Boston University, and the magazine *Studies in Democracy*. The pervasive vision of a democratic state with a mixed economy and unlimited immigration radiates through other objects of neoconservative philanthropy, particularly Radio Free Europe, Voice of America, the (former) Committee for a Free World, Freedom House, and academic chairs set up by the Olin Foundation for the study of democratic civilization.

In the maiden issue of *First Things*, Richard John Neuhaus castigates his Old Right opposition for scorning "democracy[10]." This charge could not be properly leveled at Neuhaus or at his fellow-Catholic neoconservative Michael Novak, who has invoked democratic capitalism as the "true incarnation[11]." Even less does this charge apply to the four sister foundations and to the dominant figure who coordinates their combined philanthropic activities and has been executive director of both Olin and Bradley, Michael S. Joyce. Joyce, who has characterized himself as a Martin Luther King liberal, is excited about the goodness of contemporary America. Out of his presentist enthusiasm, he has cooperated with Leslie Lenkowsky of Smith-Richardson, I.E.A., the Philanthropic Roundtable, and Hudson, to pull grant-making foundations behind "democratic initiatives" both at home and abroad[12]. For Joyce and Lenkowsky, the National Endowment for Democracy has been a critical instrument for "doing something about democracy" in Central America; and despite traditional identification of conservative foundations with free enterprise, both Joyce and Lenkowsky have been happy to throw support to the National Endowment for Democracy, two-thirds of whose budget goes to labor union activities[13].

Undoubtedly personal relations have also figured into the funding decisions of the four sisters. In 1988 Olin granted $376,000 for a three-year fellowship to Irving Kristol at American Enterprise Institute[14]. The grant was mere pocket money for someone who has been called the "neoconservative godfather" and who numbers among admiring proteges Joyce at Bradley, James Piereson, director of Olin, and Richard Larry at Scaife. Olin and Bradley have done particularly well by the Straussians. Joyce admires in particular Harry Jaffa and Jaffa's work on equality as the highest American value, but he has given stipends with equal alacrity to other disciples of the late Leo Strauss. Among these are Clifford Orwin and Thomas Pangle at the University of Toronto, Ralph Lerner and Allan Bloom at Chicago, Walter Berns at Georgetown, and Berns's student James H. Nichols at Claremont. Between 1986 and



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1989 Berns also took from Olin $500,000 for his endowed chair at Georgetown[15].

The appointment of Berns's son-in-law, Hillel Fradkin, at Bradley as senior program officer, in 1986 (after a stint at Olin) brought to its funding operations a certain balance. Fradkin's superior, Joyce, was a Western Straussian, a follower of Jaffa and his Claremont circle; Fradkin, by contrast, took his cues from the Eastern Straussians centered around Bloom and Berns. Supporting scholarship has meant for Bradley since 1986 dividing at least a million dollars annually between two doctrinaire sects, each looking for the roots of Reaganite democracy in Locke, Montesquieu, and Rousseau. But the Straussians have special value to the neoconservatives and their clients in dressing up Cold War liberalism and the democratic welfare state in a kind of classical garb. While Straussians stress the justness of America's democratic republic founded on principles of material self-interest, they also claim to be pointing back to the ideals of the ancient city, as explicated by Plato. Their interpretation of "the early American republic as a Lockean regime," their presentation of Plato as an epistemological skeptic, and their attempt to make decontextualized ideas stand for regimes and entire civilizations are all highly problematic, but there can be no doubt that Straussians have achieved fame and fortune by pushing such notions. They have turned them into a defense of the political status quo and preach a vision of America as an evolving combination of modern materialism and ancient (non-Christian) ethics. And they praise the Reagan Revolution for embodying such a synthesis and for seeking to export it.

**Personal relations have also figured into the funding decisions of the four sisters.**

The equally sectarian and personal focus of Olin funding came out in a 1987 *Chronicles of Education* article that describes how James Piereson spends more than $5 million annually: providing "seed money" for *The New Criterion*; and setting up "campus-based centers," most prominently for Allan Bloom[16]. In 1986 Olin set aside close to $4 million for Bloom and his fellow-Straussian, Nathan Tarcov, at the University of Chicago-based John M. Olin Center for Inquiry into the Theory and Practice of Democracy. Though Jon Wiener of *The Nation* does not distinguish between personal and operating budgets, he does come up with the staggering figure of $3.6 million as Bloom's total gift from Olin for his center. Delicately put, most of these funds have been available to Bloom and his associate Tarcov to be spent as they choose. Wiener also finds that Samuel Huntington, a neoconservative political sociologist, has received $1.4 million from the same benefactor for his own institute at Harvard[17]. The grant, which has been given for lectures and seminars rather than buildings and capital equipment, is clearly a gift package, with few strings attached.

Far more ominously, in 1988 an Olin Fellowship for $36,856 went to the Catholic University of America historian, Jerry Z. Muller[18]. An outspoken global democrat with *Commentary*-connections, Muller felt compelled to call the university administration and attack the frontrunner for a graduate professorship in political scienc as an "anti-Zionist." The candidate was Jewish and had even defened the Israeli government, but had also riled Podhoretz by speaking disrespectfully of *Commentary*. It is certainly possible though not demonstrable that the Olin grant was a reward for a hit well-made[19].

Three circumstances have combined to produce the neoconservative ascendancy over the four sisters and over conservative foundations generally. The first is the gradual withdrawal from foundation leadership of the actual benefactors at Olin, Bradley, Scaife, and Smith-Richardson in favor of neoconservative staffs. This occurred most dramatically at Bradley, which underwent two related revampings. The elevation of the Milwaukee business tycoon, I. Andrew (Tiny) Rader as the Lynde and Harry Bradley Foundation president in 1985 came during the first of two organizational changes. A local philanthropic arm of the Allen-Bradley Company, the national foundation was formed in 1985 when Rockwell International Corporation acquired the parent organization[20]. The foundation



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once placed under Rader departed from precedent by funding "scholarly activities" nationwide, to the annual amount of $23 million, and by paying high salaries to its board members for attending meetings. Rader received $77,220 during fiscal year 1987-88 for working part-time as board president[21]. Soon after his arrival, Rader brought Joyce and Fradkin from Olin and thereafter, Amy Crutchfield, a sometime Bloom-student at the University of Chicago, as program assistant to Fradkin. Though the charter for the revamped foundation speaks of its being "dedicated to strengthening American capitalism, its institutions, principles, and values," the appeal to the free market contained therein has little relevance for current funding practices[22]. Almost all the recipients of Bradley as well as Olin Foundation scholarly grants support a mixed economy and a highly aggressive approach to exporting American democracy.

The board of governors of Smith-Richardson (Robert Bork, Jeane Kirkpatrick, and James Q. Wilson) are all neoconservative "reliables," with the proper social and/or political connections. Though Bork is not a grantee of Smith-Richardson, he does take from Olin an annual fellowship of $162,000[23]. As director of Scaife, Richard Larry has been able to manage his own board.

Neoconservative activists have largely succeeded in centralizing both the collection and distribution of funding from right-of-center philanthropies. By carefully working with Piereson and Larry through the Philanthropic Roundtable and other organizational frameworks, Joyce and Lenkowsky have been gaining control over the form and content of movement conservatism. Though the Roundtable has not been able to cope with all mavericks, its leaders can isolate some of them, while channeling over $30 million in annual patronage to their allies. Lenkowsky, who worked briefly for the United States Information Agency (by now heavily staffed by neoconservatives) before moving on to I.E.A., has stressed the need to maximize the public impact of grant makers[24]. Such phrases are interpreted less charitably as a cover for Lenkowsky's democratic globalist fixations and personal ambition. Though it may be hard to isolate personal factors, it does seem that Lenkowsky's career thus far has been dedicated to a single ideal and he has promoted that ideal through a rapid succession of high-paying positions.

**Neoconism: globalist fixations and personal ambitions.**

James Taylor, director of Young Americans Foundation and a self-described paleoconservative, believes the Philanthropic Roundtable was never intended as a mere "clearing house." It was, from the outset, an "attempt by neocons to search out all conservative funds and direct them toward their own friends[25]." The Old Right Fund for American Studies, the National Humanities Institute, Taylor's own Young Americans Foundation, the Conservative Caucus of Howard Phillips, and even the black conservative Lincoln Institute (whose leader Jay Parker dared to dress down Jack Kemp) have all been deemed unfit for funding at Roundtable discussions. Faced by mounting insolvency, Richard Viguerie accepted a gift of $10 million from the World Unification Church to bail out his own corporation[26]. When Taylor's organization recently came into an inheritance of several million dollars, the heads of neoconservative philanthropies and foundations meeting in New York let it be known that the Young Americans Foundation had "squandered money left by a Baltimore bag lady."

Though Taylor's charges have been made by others, neoconservative-controlled philanthropies will operate to take over responsive conservative foundations as well as to isolate the nonconformists. Joyce and his allies have labored to control a critical mass of the funding of groups that did not start out as neoconservative but do have organizational value. They have understandably kept funds away from the National Humanities Institute. A scholarly organization that defends the humanism of Irving Babbitt and has been contemptuous of "democratist sentimentality," its founder Claes Ryn has criticized Straussian scholarship in print[27].

Like the old Communist Party, neoconservative philanthropic foundations have found it necessary to establish front groups in order to gain public credibility. Their proliferating front organizations include the National Legal Center, the Georgetown Center for Strategic and Interna-



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tional Studies, Institute on Religion and Democracy, Center for International Relations, and Bradley Institute of Democracy and Public Values, all of which are run almost entirely with doctrinaire neoconservatives. The front organizations each operate to publicize a particular aspect of the neoconservative worldview or policy agenda: for example, the National Legal Center to advance the idea of presidential supremacy over Congress and to keep alive the tradition of presidential activism typified by Lincoln, Wilson, and the two Roosevelts; and the Bradley Institute to emphasize "democratic values" properly understood[28].

In recent years, neoconservatives have made increasingly large grants to libertarian foundations, particularly the Institute for Contemporary Studies, the Manhattan Institute, the Cato Institute, and the Bowling Green Social Philosophy and Policy Center. The four sisters also keep solvent the once Old-Right Federalist Society for Law and Public Policy Studies[29]. The logic of these grants has been to increase aid in return for penetration. Thus neoconservative philanthropic aid has been unstinting to libertarian institutes that have accepted neoconservative tampering with their boards and/or staffs.

The needs for both increased funding and media accessibility impelled Crane to tack to the left.

The *piece de resistance* of neoconservative infiltration of conservative policy institutions has occurred in Washington, where conservative foundation heads rush to express agreement with already fixed neoconservative stands. In 1989, the sociologist Charles Murray was released as a fellow by the Manhattan Institute, even though the Bradley Foundation was willing to go on financing his research. Murray, it was discovered, had extended his work on the culture of the underclass too far, by investigating racially-based differences in I.Q. testing. The only foundation that stepped forth to provide office space for the displaced scholar, long a neoconservative darling, was the politically centrist A.E.I.. Ed Crane, president of the Cato Institute and Murray's old fishing partner, commented on his current project that "sometimes taboos serve a legitimate social function[30]. Such a remark may seem particularly surprising, coming from a figure and institute that claim to oppose social taboos, especially prohibitions against homosexuality and mind-altering drugs. But Crane made a costly decision when he moved his predominantly academic thinktank from San Francisco to Washington in 1981. Thereafter his institute became identified almost exclusively with public policy; and the needs for both increased funding and media accessibility impelled Crane to tack to the left on social and cultural questions in order to win mainstream respectability for his pamphlet crusade for deregulation and privatization. In an interview with the magazine *Liberty* in November 1990, Crane denounced the "gay-baiting" and "racial comments" of one culturally conservative libertarian and judged paleoconservatives to be "neo-fascist in the social arena." He also scolded the journalist Pat Buchanan for trying to "reinforce our Euro-ethnic heritage," by encouraging the integration of Eastern Canada into the U.S.[31]. None of the charges raised by Crane was in any sense documented. And his tributes to the "seamless web of liberty" have been repeatedly belied by his intolerance of "insensitive" scholarship and his enthusiastic support of "big-government conservatives," most notably Jack Kemp. Yet Crane can no longer be considered an intellectually free agent. He and Cato have begun to draw on neoconservative sources, particularly Olin and Bradley, and their chairman and largest contributor, Charles Koch of Wichita, Kansas, is a socially left-of-center free marketeer[32].

In view of the funding achievement of the four sister philanthropic foundations, it would seem that an imposed peace could hold the current conservative movement together. This has not happened, and John B. Judis' references in an essay in *The American Prospect* to "the conservative crackup" and to the "movement's disunity and disintegration" sum up the contemporary reality well[33]. Judis depicts a conservative movement reduced to clashing armies of



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rightwing populists, Wall Street internationalists, and competing Washington-hustlers, looking for money and not being overly scrupulous about where they take it.

Judis has exposed only the tip of the iceberg that is overturning the agitated vessel of American conservatism. The concentration of power and money within its neoconservative wing, together with savage reprisals against suspected heretics, has not brought a conservative peace; and it may soon turn out that policy foundations will engender increasing costs but diminishing returns to philanthropic organizations. The most respected of the once right-of-center foundations, A.E.I., is today centrist with left-wing Fellows like Norman Ornstein.

The problems of credibility and contagious animosity confronting foundations in greater Washington may be inherent in the claim to represent the *only* conservative principles or policies. It is not possible anymore to include the entire conservative spectrum within a single institute without inviting internecine war. The substantive differences between neoconservatives and the Old Right are even more profound now than five years ago, and the policy battles are increasingly overlaid by memories of who took over what turf.

Paradoxically, the Old Right, which has not gained but been dislodged from turf, may have the advantage of being able to fight a war without logistical burdens. The Old Right's younger members do best at muckraking, which is not an expensive operation. Thus Old Right publicists have dug up information embarrassing to their opponents: about questionable doctorates of foundation leaders and the plagiarized dissertation of Martin Luther King, Jr., the neoconservatives' most celebrated hero after Lincoln[34]. Such revelations have been made to sustain a war which the neoconservatives and their captive foundations cannot end. Perhaps the neoconservatives have pursued a flawed tactic, by humiliating, but neither disarming nor reconciling, their opposition on the right. If so, they may suffer the fate which Machiavelli warned the prince emphatically to avoid, being despised rather than hated or feared.

At the present time maintaining an affluent lifestyle for its commanders and a few privileged beneficiaries looks like the major aim of neoconservative funding. There is a problem of credibility when neoconservative academics being endowed by the four sisters lament their suffering at the hands of left-wing facilities. Professors identified with the intellectual Right but not with the neoconservatives, such as John Lukacs, Murray N. Rothbard, Claes Ryn, and M.E. Bradford have produced in some cases far more scholarship than the neoconservatives who are receiving four or five times their annual incomes. Another relevant datum is that few humanities scholars on the Left hold the financial resources available to the neoconservatives' kept intellectuals. There can be no doubt that the widely published socialist scholar Judith Shklar collected less money in the late eighties than her neoconservative colleagues in the same political science department at Harvard. Though some conservative scholars have been the victims of leftist discrimination, clients of the four sisters, many of them rich beyond the dreams of avarice, are not a-mong them. In a comment on Midge Decter and her by now disbanded Committee For the Free World, neoconservative journalist Eric Breindel notes what he considers as an unjustified suspicion, that a "collective of enormously wealthy foundations was financing a highly organized ideological struggle led by Midge Decter's Committee and the various little magazines[35]." A survey of the objects of neoconservative philanthropy, particularly in universities, might lead one to wonder about squandered wealth rather than about the intellectual and polemical vigor of a particular school of thought.

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## A Heart-Warming Story For A War-Weary World

**by Llewellyn H. Rockwell, Jr.**

Despite the Gulf War and what President Bush calls "environmental terrorism," a world leader can still show us the real priorities: Pol Pot, former dictator of Cambodia, has a "soft spot for wildlife," reports James Pringle in the *Washington Times* (1/30/91).



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As leader of the Khmer Rouge, the most radical Communists ever to come to power, Pol Pot tried to abolish property, prices, money, cities, and families. In the process, he killed more than a million Cambodians.

One of his more colorful actions was to order all hospital patients in Phnom Penh to march into the countryside. Those who couldn't were beaten to death. If only they'd been spotted owls.

**Pol Pot as animal lover.**

Pol Pot is now a U.S.-supported guerrilla general, but he has more on his mind than emptying hospitals. He wants to "protect endangered species."

Starving Cambodians are eating monkeys, mongooses, parrots, and other species called endangered by the World Wildlife Fund.

All "poaching" of these birds and animals must stop, says Pol Pot. "They must not be killed for any reason." The once and wannabee dictator has even had his troops construct animal sanctuaries.

Ta Mok, a Pol Pot aide known as "The Butcher" during his years in power, has taken personal charge of ecological issues, punishing transgressors with hard labor on the wildlife preserves.

Somehow, it all fits. The heart of the environmental movement is hatred of human beings. From radicals like EarthFirst! to so-called moderates like the Sierra Club, the Green movement detests man and his civilization.

We are fundamentally irredeemable, say the Greens, because we are the only species to act, and therefore transform the environment, rather than subsisting mindlessly.

For the elect, spiritual training can help. All that is necessary for salvation is that every action be informed by the test, "Will this harm the Earth?" But for the rest of us, who take long showers, use gasoline, buy fur, and commit other ecosins, the only answer is the State, which must squash us in favor of the bugs.

"Some people try to stretch the prohibition ['Thou shalt not kill'] to cover beasts and cattle, and make it unlawful to kill any such animals," wrote St. Augustine in *The City of God* more than 1,500 years ago. "But then, why not include plants...? After all, things like this, though devoid of feeling,...have life, and, therefore, can die and so be killed by violent treatment...

"Must we, then, when we read 'Thou shalt not kill,' understand that it is a crime to pull up a shrub, and foolishly subscribe to the error of Manichaeans?

"Putting this nonsense aside, we do not apply 'Thou shalt not kill' to plants, because they have no sensation; or to irrational animals that fly, swim, walk, or creep... By the Creator's wise ordinance, they are meant for our use, dead or alive."

Exactly.

P.S.: Am I the only person who's sick and tired of seeing the same oily cormorant on TV over and over again, while CNN's Peter Arnett is vilified for one quick shot of dead Iraqi children? ●

## Man As Endangered Species

**by L.H.R., Jr.**

From the snail darter to the furbish lousewort, every existing animal and plant species must be kept in existence by the government—claim the environmentalists—even if human rights are violated. But why?

Most of the species that have existed since the creation, from trilobites to dinosaurs, are now extinct through normal processes. Why not allow this to continue?

If for scientific or entertainment purposes, some people want to preserve this species or that on their own land and at their own expense, great. Zoos and universities do this already. But the rest of us should not be taxed and regulated, and have our property rights wiped out, to save every weed and bug. The only environmental impact that counts is that on humans.

That is, however, a distinctly minority view. In today's America, property rights are routinely violated if development or production might irritate an "endangered species."

We hear all about the spotted owl and other cute, furry creatures, but the feds' list of *600* endangered species—on which our freedoms are not included—also includes 15 kinds of mice; 14 kinds of rats (including the "plain rat"!); six types of beetles; plus spiders,



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rattlesnakes, and scorpions. And then there are hundreds of weeds, including milkweeds, bladderpods, rattle-weeds, and quillworts.

I have an idea. To avoid violating the rights of property holders, and to preserve all these creatures, let's put them in the offices of the Department of the Interior and the environmental groups. Let those who love endangered rats, weeds, and bugs live with them. ●

## Credit Union Safety

**by L.H.R., Jr.**

After the collapse of the fractional-reserve credit unions, banks, and other financial institutions "insured" by a state scheme in Rhode Island, the head regulator in Washington told us not to worry. Why, the credit unions are as safe as, well, banks.

Roger W. Jepsen, head of the National Credit Union Association—their FDIC—claimed the industry was in "good shape."

But this is the same Jepsen who, as a U.S. senator from Iowa and chairman of the Joint Economic Committee in Congress, was reported in the *Wall Street Journal* to be unable to remember that the MI measure of the money supply wasn't pronounced M-eye. He was defeated for reelection when it turned out he had visited a massage parlor in Iowa near his home under his own name on many occasions. *This* is the intellectual giant in charge of credit unions. ●

## Hurrah For Henry

**by L.H.R., Jr.**

When I worked on Capitol Hill as Congressman Ron Paul's chief of staff, I got to know his colleague on the Texas delegation and banking committee, Henry Gonzales (D-San Antonio). Gonzales was pretty much a standard-issue liberal Democrat, but I loved him for his hatred of the Fed in the populist Wright Patman tradition.

When, through seniority, Gonzales climbed to the top of the banking committee, the Fed went ballistic. Had he not been Hispanic, the Democratic Caucus would have denied him the chairmanship. The rumor on the Hill was that Gonzales had agreed, in return for the chairmanship, to lay off the Fed. Even then, he was hardnosed on the S&Ls, and it was Gonzales's investigations that forced the Senate to go after the Keating Five.

**Bush "conspired to commit crimes against the peace."**

But whatever deal he made with the Fed, Gonzales has now proven himself the most courageous and principled Member of Congress since Ron Paul.

On January 16th, *before* the Emperor Bush went to war, Henry Gonzales introduced a resolution to impeach George Bush for war crimes. For some reason, our free press has ignored this challenge by one of the most important Congressmen.

In a fiery speech on the House floor, Gonzales told the craven wimps there assembled that he "swore to uphold the Constitution." He did not take "a pledge of allegiance to the President."

Gonzales charged Bush with violating the "Constitution, federal law, and the United Nations Charter by bribing, intimidating, and threatening others, including the members of the United Nations Security Council, to support belligerent acts against Iraq."

Bush had "conspired to engage in a massive war against Iraq, employing methods of mass destruction that will result in the killing of tens of thousands of civilians, many of whom will be children." When the killing starts," the principles laid down in the Nuremberg trial will be applicable."

Since August 1990, Bush had "systematically eliminated every option for peaceful resolution of the Persian Gulf crisis." He "has not received a declaration of war by Congress, and in contravention of the written word, the spirit, and the intent of the U.S. Constitution, has declared that he will go to war regardless of Congress and the American people."

Bush "conspired to commit crimes against the peace by leading the United States into aggressive war against Iraq in violation of Article 24 of the United Nations Charter, the Nuremberg Charter, other international instruments and treaties, and the Constitution of the United States." Bush, "believing he is king, decides for the country—unilaterally—that war is the answer."

"Mr. Speaker," said Gonzales, "I urge my Colleagues to support this resolution, and stand up to the President on behalf of the soldiers who will die, the civilians who will be

*(Cont. page 19,col. 1)*



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## AN OPEN LETTER TO TED TURNER

Dear Ted,

I don't share your love of Jane Fonda or the spotted owl, but I sure am glad you created Cable News Network.

Ever since Herbert Hoover nationalized the airwaves, and the federal government created the networks to serve itself and its favored interests, we have been subjected to electronic media that were shills for the State.

Your entrepreneurship sidestepped the government-privileged ABC, CBS, and NBC, and created the first truly international network. Not international in the New World Order sense, but in giving us news that is watched all over the world, and is, to some extent, independent of the U.S. government. You are not an adjunct of the warfare state—and how that drives them crazy.

Despite the demands of the thuggish Reed Irvine—who says he wants the American people barred from the truth because it is "the most effective propaganda"—Peter Arnett's broadcasts from Baghdad must not be shut down. Yes, he is censored by the Iraqis, just as the U.S., Saudi, and Israeli governments censor your reporters whenever they can. But so what? As free men and women, we should have the right to watch Arnett, or not, and to make up our own minds.

Yet, amidst the vast propaganda campaign, the State and its servants go crazy over one dissenting voice. Having sold themselves to the father of lies, they hate and fear even a crumb of truth.

Virtually all classified information is banned to keep it from the American people, not some alleged enemy. The "collateral damage" and other Iraqi facts that bother the Pentagon are known to the rest of the world. The censors don't want *Americans* knowing them. Pictures of charred children might affect "our will" to kill thousands more, and to bomb a poor Third-World country—that never did us any harm—"back into the Stone Age," as the bomb-happy Gen. Curtis LeMay once said should be done to Vietnam.

Even if we assume the worst—that Arnett's broadcasts are lies (and I do not for a minute believe that)—we should have, as Joe Sobran says, "a plurality of mendacity."

The conservative calls to shut up, and get behind the government, make superficial sense. Who would want the war prolonged? But what about the future? What about the other battles the Emperor Bush means to wage for his New World Order, or his continuing war against the savings and freedom of the American people? To support the government in this, Bush's second war in two years against an ex-CIA client, is to submit to despotism, and to love the despot.

Upholding truth that discomforts tyrants is surely worthwhile. And if we are to have any chance of stopping Leviathan, it is essential.

Your CNN helps us uphold that truth. Keep broadcasting, and you will truly make January 16th "the night the networks died." What great news that would be!

Warmest regards,
L.H.R., Jr.



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(**HURRAH** *cont. from P.17)*
massacred, and the Constitution that will be destroyed if this country goes to war in the Middle East."

After Bush launched his war, Gonzales wrote to me that this war will "result not only in countless deaths," but further destabilize "a region that has known nothing but instability for thousands of years. How soon forgotten the last wars: the basket cases, the armless, the legless, the sightless. The Minotaur once again is turned loose by cynical old men to consume our young." ●

# Combatting "Hate Speech"

## by The Old Curmudgeon

Well, they got Doug Hann. Late the night of last October 18, Douglas Hann, a junior at the distinguished Brown University, was celebrating his 21st birthday, along with a few Delta Phi fraternity brothers. In the age-old college and fraternity tradition, the guys were a few sheets to the wind as they walked down dormitory row. Doug Hann yelled into the air a few obscene racist shouts. When a dorm student opened a window and yelled at Doug to "keep it down," Doug shot back, escalating the racist epithets and adding a crude expression of "homophobia." A brief, non-violent confrontation ensued, after which the dorm student filed a complaint with the all-powerful, university "disciplinary council."

The august council, composed of five students and five faculty and administrators, decided Doug's case. They saw with horror that he was a Second Offender; at the bar of a fraternity party a year and a half earlier, Doug, possibly a bit tanked there too, had called another student by a racist epithet. As punishment, he was forced to attend a "race relations workshop" and counselling for "possible alcohol abuse," but for some reason the "professional care-giving" therapy didn't seem to stick.

And so the disciplinary council, backed by President Vartan Gregorian, expelled Doug Hann this January, under the provisions of one of more than a hundred "hate speech" codes in force in colleges throughout the country. It was a landmark decision, because this is the first time that a college has gone beyond compulsory "therapy," forced letters of apology, or temporary "dismissal" to outright and final expulsion. Brown's code bans the subjection of "another person, group or class of persons, to inappropriate, abusive, threatening or demeaning actions based on race, religion, gender, handicap, ethnicity, national origin, or sexual orientation."

Doug Hann's freedom of speech was clearly trampled; in its usual "on the one hand, on the other hand," way, the good grey *New York Times* reported that while some people have "praised the action as a strong message against racism," others, wonder of wonders! "fear that such extreme actions, when combined with new campus codes against hate speech, will inhibit the free exchange of ideas that is the essential commerce of a university." These critics don't seem to realize that, in the last few years, the ideal of free exchange of ideas has been swept aside in most universities, to be replaced by the importance of toeing the monolithic Politically Correct left-liberal line.

It is fascinating to read some of the comments of various academic authorities on the Hann case. Grant M. Ingle, director of "human relations" at U. Mass, Amherst sees only confusion and situational ethics. "There's not a sharp line," opined Ingle, separating speech from "offensive conduct or behavior." Yes, there is, Grant. Remember the First Amendment. Speech, or "speech behavior" if you want to call it that, should be free and untrammeled, even if—*especially* if—"offensive"; actions, such as punching someone in the nose, should not. Robert W. Ethridge, assistant vice president for "equal opportunity programs" at Emory University, said hate speech codes would not be needed "in a perfect world," but in our world people "do things" so the "policies are important as deterrents." Very profound, Bob. In a "perfect world" we wouldn't need constitutions or the Bill of Rights either.

One Brown student sees no need for apology. Su Ming Yeh claims that Hann got what he deserved. "Yes, there is freedom of speech," she said, "but we've also taken into consideration the rights of others to live in a comfortable and safe environment." Notice that she is not applying such terms to *physical* safety, the standard task of the police. She is taking about the "right" to *psychic* comfort, that is the "right" not to have your feelings ruffled, or your thoughts challenged. But *that*, of course, is what free inquiry, truth-seeking, and academia are *supposed* to be about.

Perhaps most interesting are the remarks and actions of President Gregorian, who, in his



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previous post as head of the New York Public Library, was incredibly beloved by the New York Establishment. Gregorian was reportedly "upset" by news that Hann had been expelled for violations of regulations governing speech. Gregorian wants to have his cake and eat it too: be a fierce fighter against hate speech while posing as a champion of freedom. Gregorian declaimed that the "academic enterprise" must "remain partisans of heterodoxy, of a rich and full range of opinions, ideas and expression." Moreover, "imposed orthodoxies of all sorts, including what is called 'political correct' speech, are anathema to our enterprise."

So how square this proud stance with the expulsion of Doug Hann? Because, you see, the problem was not *speech* at all, but "behavior" or actions, which includes "behavior" (speech) that "shows flagrant disrespect for the well-being of others," including the various forms of "demeaning actions (speech)" against the race, religion, gender blah blah blah in the Brown code noted above. Clearly this "demeaning" (Politically Incorrect) speech-behavior does not seem to fall under the "rich and full range of opinions, ideas and expression" trumpeted by Vartan Gregorian.

More specifically, Gregorian reiterates that his rules "do not proscribe words, epithets or slanders; they proscribe behavior." So when does "speech" become demeaning "behavior" showing disrespect, etc? Ah, *that*, adds Gregorian, is determined by "a hearing" before said "disciplinary council" to decide "the circumstances of each case." Moreover, this wonderful due process includes the right to an appeal before a "senior officer" and ultimately by Gregorian himself. Well, does that clear everything up, and are all libertarians satisfied?

How did Vartan Gregorian get involved in his crusade against hate speech at Brown? It seems that, shortly after he assumed his high post in the spring of 1989, students, as he rabidly puts it, "were subjected to a cowardly attack of racial and homophobic graffiti." (My God! Tasteless graffiti...*on a college campus*??!) These words, he goes on, "scrawled anonymously" on doors of a college dormitory, were "vicious attacks threatening the well-being and security of Brown students." Bravely, like a Winston Churchill or George Bush, Vartan Gregorian put on his armor in a crusade to stamp out hate speech. "I issue a solemn warning," the President thundered, "that it is the policy of my administration to take action against those who incite hatred. It is my intention to prosecute vigorously, and to expel immediately, such individual or individuals for any attempt to inject and promote racism and thus insult the dignity of our students as citizens of Brown." Apparently, such "dignity" is so fragile that it can only be maintained by heroic measures.

**My God! Tasteless graffiti!... on a college campus???**

It seems that, considering Gregorian's militant stance, young Douglas Hann was lucky to get off so lightly. Surely a more appropriate punishment would be castration, performed publicly in the quad so as to set an example to all other possible epithet-shouters or graffiti-artists. Or maybe drawing-and-quartering. The day seems to be approaching fast when the opposition by left-liberals to capital punishment for murder or rape is going to come up against a thirst for maximum punishment for such newfound "criminals" as those who commit hate-speech or who indulge in inside stock trading or deal in high-yield bonds.

And yet, after all this, Gregorian has the brass to orate that "the day that Brown denies any student freedom of speech is the day that I give up my presidency of the university." Vartan Gregorian, call your office, and dictate your resignation statement.

Clearly, with his moxie and his capacity for double-think, Gregorian is destined to go far in politics.

There is, by the way, a curious lacuna in the endless list of groups who may no longer be demeaned. Among all the race, gender, etc. there is not a single mention of the person's or group's economic or social class. In other words, it is still perfectly legitimate under Brown's or other collegiate codes for Marxoids or deconstructionists to shout "you filthy capitalist" without coming up for charges on hate speech. Does anyone think this omission an accident?

Let the last word belong to the aforementioned Grant Ingle, the human relations director at U.Mass. Trying to be moderate, Ingle pointed out that the universities can sup-press bigoted remarks but not bigoted thoughts. "We have to realize," intoned Ingle, that students



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"come to the university" deprived of "multicultural education," and so they are not fully "prepared" for multicultural life at college. I see. I guess that in the future the secondary schools will "prepare" and brainwash the students, employing countless multi-cultural "counselors" and therapists to do so. In the meanwhile, as Ingle intimates, people like Doug Hann should count themselves lucky that the authorities don't attach electrodes to their skulls to try to root out hate thought directly.

In memory of Doug Hann I have composed this little ditty, to be sung to the tune of the "Ballad of Joe Hill:"

**The Ballad of Doug Hann**

I dreamed I saw Doug Hann last night
Alive as you and me.
"But Doug," I said, "you're ten years dead."
"I never died," said he.
"I never died," said he.

From San Diego up to Maine
In every home and van,
Wherever men commit hate-thought,
It's there you'll find Doug Hann.
It's there you'll find Doug Hann.
*Repeat first stanza*

**- M.N.R.**

# Hip Hopping at Howard

**by L.H.R., Jr.**

Washington, D.C.'s Howard University, American's premier black institution of higher learning, recently held a three-day conference on rap called "Hip Hop at Its Crossroads: Seizing the Cultural Agenda," reports David Mills of the *Washington Post*.

In the music business, explained speaker Chuck D. of the group *Public Enemy*, there are "posses and troops of white people looking to smear a brother in the wink of an eye."

We'll "kill a cracker in a minute," replied King Zulu of the group *Defiant Giants*, wielding the "latest cool symbol of Afrocentricity," a carved black walking stick. "It's no stick," however. "It's a staff. It's my heritage."

With *New Kids on the Block* and others, whites are taking over rap, said "hip hop activist" Harry Allen. He held up a poster, to curses and catcalls from the audience, of white rapper Vanilla Ice, whom he called "an extension of white supremacy" and a white "seedling, a plant to germinate" in black soil.

Flinging the poster to the floor, Allen warned the monocultural attendees that they must stamp out such performers. Otherwise, "40 years from now you'll have black guys in dreadlocks saying, "Did you know that rap was once black?"

Not that it's enough to be black. "Yo, you got to go for it," the rapper Daddy-O told the audience. "And when you go for it, you can't go for it because your mom said it was dope, or because your homeboy said it was dope. You got to work it."

The conference was such a success, said director A. Haqq Islam, that Howard University will make it an annual affair. The only glitch occurred when the female groups *Hoes Wit Attitudes* and *Bytches With Problems* failed to show up for their panel on "Bitches, Skeezers, and Hoes."

During the closing session of the conference—an evening of rap at a roller rink—emcee Arthur 4X rebuked the crowd. If these were whites, "you'd all be clapping your black butts off." For this next guest, he urged the audience, "give it up for your black brother."

"He's white, he's white," yelled the crowd, as Mr. 4X looked on in horror. Tony D., producer of the group *Poor Righteous Teachers* tried to explain that he was only there "to kick raw s___, not weak s____, just raw s____." But his plea left "the people unmoved," says Mr. Mills. ●

# Up, Up, and Away

**by L.H.R., Jr.**

The next casualty of the environmentalist movement may be the helium balloon. Activists are teaching children that the brightly colored toys are evil because after they fly away, animals eat them and die. (And animals, as we all know, are not supposed to die.)

Politically correct kids "don't want anyone to buy balloons anymore," says Phillip Levin, president of Balloon City wholesalers.

Ecologists are not satisfied with moral suasion, of course. They are organizing kids to lobby state legislatures. "Crying children say we are killing millions of animals," says Mr. Levin.

Although there is *no evidence* that balloons kill animals, Mark Brown of the National Association of Balloon Artists told the *New York Times*, that "children say, 'Oh, no, I can't take that balloon, it might kill a whale.'"

In fact, most helium balloons climb about five miles high and burst into tiny pieces of what ought to be lovable latex, since it is a "natural, biodegradable substance."

Florida, Connecticut, and



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Tennessee have outlawed balloon launchings, and the Balloon Alert Project is working on New Jersey and New York. When asked about the fact that there is no proof of balloons harming animals, BAP co-founders and grade-school science teachers Peter and Susan Hibbard responded that there is also "no proof that balloons haven't killed any animals."

This seems to be a central principle of the environmental movement. Although there is no proof that hairspray harms the ozone layer, there is no proof that it doesn't. Although there is no proof that coal burning causes acid raid, there is no proof that it doesn't. Etc., etc., *ad nauseam.*

As for me, whenever I buy my daughter a balloon from now on, I'm buying another one to launch. I can always hope it lands on the Hibbards' sandwich. ●

# The War Prayer

## by Mark Twain

It was a time of great and exalting excitement.

The country was up in arms,
the war was on,
in every breast
burned the holy fire of
patriotism;
the drums were beating,
the bands playing,
the toy pistols popping,
the bunched firecrackers
hissing and spluttering;
on every hand and far down
the receding and fading spread
of roofs and balconies
a fluttering wilderness of flags
flashed in the sun;
daily the young volunteers
marched
down the wide avenue
gay and fine in their new
uniforms
the proud fathers and mothers
and sisters and sweethearts
cheering them with voices
choked with happy emotion
as they swung by;
nightly the packed mass
meetings
listened, panting, to patriot
oratory
which stirred the deepest deeps
of their hearts
and which they interrupted
at briefest intervals
with cyclones of applause,
the tears running down their
cheeks
the while;
in the churches the pastors
preached
devotion to flag and country
and invoked the God of Battles,
beseeching His aid in our good
cause
in outpouring of fervid eloquence
which moved every listener.
It was indeed a glad and gracious
time,
and the half-dozen rash spirits
that ventured to disapprove of
the war
and cast a doubt upon its
righteousness
straightaway got such a stern
and angry warning
that for their personal safety's
sake
they quickly shrank out of sight
and offended no more in that
way.

Sunday morning came—
next day the battalions would
leave
for the front; the church was
filled;
the volunteers were there,
their young faces
alight with martial dreams—
visions of the stern advance,
the gathering momentum,
the rushing charge; the flashing
sabers,
the flight of the foe, the tumult,
the enveloping smoke, the fierce
pursuit,
the surrender!—then home from
the war,
bronzed heroes, welcomed,
adored,
submerged in golden seas of
glory!
With the volunteers sat their dear
ones,
proud, happy, and envied
by the neighbors and friends
who had no sons and brothers
to send forth to the field of honor,
there to win for the flag or failing,
die the noblest of noble deaths.
The service proceeded; a war
chapter
from the Old Testament was read;
the first prayer was said;
it was followed by an organ burst
that shook the building,
and with one impulse the house
rose,
with glowing eyes and beating
hearts,
and poured out
that tremendous invocation—

God the all-terrible!
Thou who ordainest,
Thunder thy clarion
and lightning thy sword!

Then came the "long" prayer.
None could remember the like of
it
for passionate pleading
and moving and beautiful
language.
The burden of its supplication
was
that an ever-merciful and
benignant
Father of us all would watch over
our noble young soldiers
and aid, comfort, and encourage
them
in their patriotic work;
bless them, shield them in the
day
of battle and the hour of peril,
bear them in His mighty hand,
make them strong and confident,
invincible in the bloody onset;
help them to crush the foe,
grant to them



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and to their flag and country
imperishable honor and glory—

An aged stranger entered and
moved
with slow and noiseless step
up the main aisle,
his eyes fixed upon the minister,
his long body clothed in a robe
that reached to his feet, his head
bare,
his white hair descending
in a frothy cataract to his
shoulders,
his seamy face unnaturally pale,
pale even to ghastliness.
With all eyes following him
and wondering,
he made his silent way;
without pausing, he ascended
to the preacher's side
and stood there, waiting.
With shut lids the preacher,
unconscious of his presence,
continued his moving prayer,
and at last finished it with the
words,
uttered in fervent appeal,
"Bless our arms,
grant us the victory,
O Lord our God,
Father and Protector
of our land and flag!"

The stranger touched his arm,
motioned him to step aside—
which the startled minister did—
and took his place.
During some moments
he surveyed the spellbound
audience
with solemn eyes in which
burned
an uncanny light;
then in a deep voice he said:

"I come from the Throne—
bearing a message from
Almighty God!"
The words smote the house with
a shock,
if the stranger perceived it
he gave no attention.
"He has heard the prayer
of His servant your shepherd
and will grant it
if such shall be your desire
after I, his messenger,
shall have explained to you its
import—that is to say, its full
import.
For it is like unto
many of the prayers of men,
in that it asks for more
than he who utters it is aware
of—
except he pause and think.
"God's servant and yours
has prayed his prayer.
Has he paused and taken
thought?
Is it one prayer?
No, it is two—
one uttered, the other not.
Both have reached the ear
of Him Who heareth all
supplications,
the spoken and the unspoken.
Ponder this—keep it in mind.

"If you would beseech
a blessing upon yourself,
beware!
lest without intent
you invoke a curse upon a
neighbor
at the same time.
If you pray for the blessing of
rain
upon your crop which needs it,
by that act you are possibly
praying
for a curse upon some neighbor's
crop
which may not need rain
and can be injured by it.

"You have heard your servant's
prayer—
the uttered part of it.
I am commissioned of God
to put into words the other part
of it—
that part which the pastor,
and also you in your hearts,
fervently prayed silently.
And ignorantly and
unthinkingly?
God grant that it was so!
You heard these words:
'Grant us the victory,
O Lord our God!'
That is sufficient
the *whole* of the uttered prayer
is compact into those pregnant
words.
Elaborations were not necessary.

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When you have prayer for victory
you have prayer for
many unmentioned results
which follow victory—*must*
follow it,
cannot help but follow it.
Upon the listening spirit
of God the Father fell also
the unspoken part of the prayer.
he commandeth me
to put it into words.

Listen!
"O Lord our Father,
our young patriots,
idols of our hearts,
go forth to battle—
be Thou near them!

"With them, in spirit, we also go
forth
from the sweet peace
of our beloved firesides
to smite the foe.
O Lord our God,
help us
to tear their soldiers
to bloody shreds
with our shells;

help us
to cover their smiling fields
with the pale forms
of their patriot dead;

help us
to drown the thunder
of the guns
with the shrieks
of their wounded,
writhing in pain;

help us
to lay waste
their humble homes
with a hurricane of fire;

help us
to wring the hearts
of their unoffending widows
with unavailing grief;
help us
to turn them out roofless
with their little children
to wander unfriended
the wastes
of their desolated land

in rags and hunger
and thirst,
sports of the sun flames
of summer
and the icy winds
of winter,

broken in spirit,
worn with travail,

for our sakes
who adore Thee, Lord,
blast their hopes,
blight their lives,

protract their bitter pilgrimage,
make heavy their steps,
water their way with tears,

stain the white snow
with the blood
of their wounded feet!

"We ask it,
in the spirit of love,
of Him Who is the Source of
Love,

and Who is the ever-faithful
refuge and friend
of all that are sore beset

and seek His aid
with humble and contrite hearts.

Amen."

After a pause:

"Ye have prayed it;
if ye still desire it,
speak!
The messenger of the
Most High waits."

It was believed afterward
that the man was a lunatic
because there was no sense
in what he said.

---

Mark Twain on *The War Prayer*: "I have told the whole truth in that, and only dead men can tell the truth in this world. It can be published after I am dead." ●

**Rothbard-Rockwell Report**
Center for Libertarian Studies
P.O. Box 4091, Burlingame, CA 94011

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U.S. Postage
PAID
San Francisco, CA
Permit No. 1987

**The Rothbard-Rockwell Report** is published by the Center for Libertarian Studies, Post Office Box 4091, Burlingame, California 94011. (800) 325-7257.
*Editors*: Murray N. Rothbard and Llewellyn H. Rockwell. *Contributing Editors*: Sarah Barton, Joseph Sobran. *Publisher*: Burton S. Blumert. *Managing Editor*: Sybil Regan.
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